

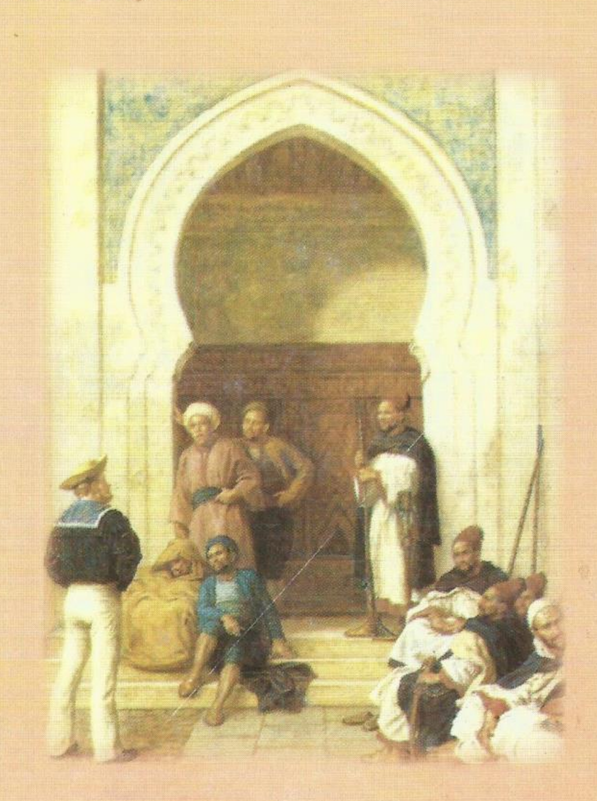


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Proto-Global Encounters under the Black Flag: Moors, Turks and Europeans in 16th and 17th cc. Morocco

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During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Southern bank of the Mediterranean Sea became a hot sphere of hectic corsair activity that favored the emergence of an early form of Globalization, or, as it is dubbed by American author Linda Colley, '*proto-globalization*,' which she defines as '*the way that different parts of the world were impacting on one another and migration among the continents.*[1] This concept will certainly acquire more sense when compared to Globalization in its modern sense. One of the latest definitions of 'Globalization' is the one offered by Merriam Webster online:

> the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labor markets.[2]

When we apply these two definitions to the Mediterranean basin during the 16th and 17th centuries, we find many elements of similarity between today and that particular period. First, the involvement of nearly all the countries around the Mediterranean Sea in the economic transactions of the time, whether in the form of national and private trades, national or free corsair activity, or international wars, is a precursory element of '*global economy*'. Second, the '*free trade and free flow of capital*' was clearly evident among countries of the North and countries of the South in spite of the dangers of the time. Even the corsair activity of the time stands in itself as evidence of hectic commercial relations between the two continents (Africa and Europe). Third, the whole captivity and enslaving process was an early form of the present '*tapping for cheaper foreign labor.*'

Moreover, if the proliferation of goods is a shriek aspect of the global phenomenon today, the *free* movement of corsairs, renegades, and traders and the *unfree* movement of captives and slaves of different races and nationalities created in some Mediterranean cities a global atmosphere of unprecedented form. We have chosen Morocco because it offered during the given period (16th and 17th cc.) typical examples of 'proto-globalization.' Most of the elements were there, except Information Technologies and the World Wide Web. To simplify things, we would say: it was globalization minus electricity. As we have victims of Globalization today, there were equally victims of Proto-Globalization. Today, many groups and countries are rallying to form an Anti-Globalization camp. At that time, anti-corsair, anti-privateering, and anti-slavery voices might be considered, to a certain extent, as the anti-proto-globalization camp. But they would soon change camps and become, on their turn, avant-garde poles of another form of early Globalization: Imperialism.

The aim of this paper is to show the gestation of proto-global elements during the golden age of piracy and corsair activity and to bring into light the far-reaching effects of this situation on

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[1] "Linda Colley Interview," <http://his.princeton.edu/people/e54/linda_colley_intervi.html> (Accessed on 6 Feb. 2007.)

[2] *Merriam Webster Online*, 'Globalization' <http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/globalization> (Accessed on 26 Jan. 2007.)

Morocco – past and present – at the cultural, social and linguistic levels. I will first try to contextualize the relations between Moroccans and Europeans at that point of history and their place in international relations of the time. Second, I will shed light on the linguistic encounters and usages both at the corsair and at official levels. Self-evidently, this is to treat issues such as the *lingua franca*, translators, scribes, the language of writing documents and treaties… Then I will come out with some preliminary conclusions regarding the impact of such encounters on Morocco at the social, cultural, and linguistic levels. More importance will be given to descriptions and analyses that have been made by North African historians and scholars, both classical and modern, for the sake of rendering an-*other* perspective on the issue. This, yoked to the already existing European and American one, will hopefully bring about additional illumination on a corpus that requires a good deal of critical study and analysis.

1. All under the Black Flag

During the 16th and 17th cc., a host of corsairs, converts/renegades, traders, ambassadors, consuls, emissaries, missionaries and travelers came to Morocco, some willingly, some by force, for multiple reasons. The most prominent ones were corsairs, who played a prominent role in bringing together a host of nationalities under the Black Flag: Moors, Turks, Europeans, and Africans. The ensuing rise of corsair 'republics' in Morocco favored a series of encounters between all these nationalities and paved the way for Babylonian 'city-states' and human groupings where a variety of languages were used. This situation left a deep impact on Moroccan culture and language. The experience of corsairs and captives, whether recorded by themselves or reported by others, gave birth to a considerable literature in history and in other disciplines; it had a deep impact on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea at different political, economic, social, cultural, and linguistic levels. Research has shown that many of such encounters were highly decisive in bringing together nations, reshaping views, and 'relocating culture.'

The inter-influence between Moroccan Arabic language, on one side, and European languages of European corsairs and captives during the given period, on the other side, have not been given due importance by Moroccan and European scholars and linguists, especially in the fields of socio-cultural changes and ethnographic linguistics. At the socio-cultural level, when Moroccan scholar Mohamed Mezzine attempted to explore the complex relation between Fuqaha, society, and power in 16th- and 17th-centuries Morocco, he did not get into the details of human interactions and daily life relations of the social groups of the time, but he was, at least, very conscious of this methodological concern. He stated clearly that a whole internal history of daily life problems and the interaction between the different elements of society was yet to construct, and that maybe it is this history that will allow us to give a more objective answer to the question whether, with the 16th and 17th century, the history of Morocco entered into a new phase.[3]

What is the use of doing research on the kind of languages that were spoken by corsairs, renegades, converts, captives, slaves, and officials in a time when the Mediterranean was a large battlefield between nations and autonomous republics under the Black Flag? Whenever I was reading a captivity account or the story of a capture in the high seas, the first things that were

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[3] Mohamed Mezzine, *Fuqaha à l'épreuve de l'Histoire. Sainteté, Pouvoir et Société au Maroc au début des Temps Modernes (XVIème – XVIIème siècles.)* Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines Saïs-Fes. Série : Thèses et Monographies N° 7, 2003, p. 40. (My translation.)

posing excruciating questions to me were the kind of daily life captives and corsairs were leading, on one hand, and the first encounters between these two kinds of groups and their language(s) of communication in such decisive and crucial moments, on another hand. The last and concluding words of the second part of Fernand Braudel's important book on the Mediterranean Sea during the same period are highly revealing in this sense; the '*structuralism'* of a historian – according to Braudel – should be rather directed '*towards the very sources of life, to what is most concrete in it, most indestructible, and most anonymously human*.'[4] Also, what brings the language of communication to the forefront of historical analysis is its impacting role in any society (the Moroccan society, in this case) and the importance of words in the history of nations.

2. Proto-Global Space

The geographical space that we are dealing with in this paper is relatively much narrower to be considered as a Global space, but it offered many possibilities of human encounters that made it bear early forms of globalisation. Once we choose to treat of corsairs, pirates, captives, and renegades, we find ourselves confined by the Mediterranean coasts and city-states such as Salé, Maamora, Tetouan, Algiers, Tunis, Malta, Livorno, and other corsair 'republics'. Focus will be on a particular part of this sphere, Morocco, (or West Barbary, as it was called by English travelers and authors) as the primary concern of this paper is the interactions of different nationalities under the Moroccan corsair leadership. As of necessity, the space is also extended to the immediate corsair zone that was within reach of this movement, particularly the one 'situated west of the Detroit of Gibraltar: the triangle of the Azores, Madera, and the Canaries.'[5] So added to the Atlantic cities of Rabat-Salé, Larache, Maamora, the Mediterranean cities of Tetouan and Velez (Badis in Arabic), which was 'considered as the port of Fez on the Mediterranean,'[6] other Moroccan hinterland cities are also included in this geographical frame.

3. Time to Corsair Them

The choice of the 16th and 17th centuries is dictated by a number of considerations that will show through the coming pages, but a primary general historical contextualization is necessary. At the end of the 16th century, and due to the powerful dynasty of the Saadians, Morocco was completely independent from the Ottoman hegemony. Then many internal and external factors contributed, at the beginning of the 17th century, to the rise of Moroccan corsair activities and the flourishing of the corsairs' city-states or 'republics.' The period essentially witnessed the movement of a host of Europeans who came – or were brought – to Morocco for different reasons. Corsairs, pirates, deserters, renegades, captives, slaves, traders, travellers, missionaries, ambassadors, and officials came from the different parts of Europe and the Mediterranean in a moment when Morocco was the ideal destination for many of them.

Before this period, a certain number of corsairs had already settled in the Moroccan Atlantic port of Salé, which was also a flourishing commercial center. But the expansion of corsair

[4] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II. Deuxième Partie : Destins collectifs et mouvements d'ensemble*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1990, p. 520.

[5] Jamal Eddine Borki, « *Le Djihad Maritime Maghrébin (XVIème-XVIIIème siècles)* » in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé les 30, 31 mai, 1èr et 2 Juin 1997, vol. 2, p. 61.

[6] Henry de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. *Angleterre*. Tome 1. Paris, 1906-1923, p. 56.

activities was not strongly felt until 1610 with the arrival of the Moriscos that had been chased from Spain to Morocco. In the context of the Spanish-Moorish conflict, the Iberians, as the immediate neighbours of Morocco, wanted both to finish with the last vestiges of the Islamic empire in Spain (Andalusia) and to occupy various points of the North African littoral in an attempt to prevent any incursions in their coasts. This was also intended to preserve the security of their sea traffic, to make an end to Moroccan role as an intermediary between Black Africa and Europe, and to thwart the Ottomans' advance toward the west Mediterranean.[7] In this context, among the immediate results of the Inquisition decrees of Felipe III, there was the expelling of the Hornacheros, the Moriscos of Al-Andalus. When they came to Salé, the first thing they did was to form an independent 'republic' that would last half a century thanks to its corsair activities.[8] But this does in no way mean that corsair activity was brought to Morocco by the Moriscos or by Europeans at that time. The Portuguese archives give the evidence that Moroccans had already been practicing such an activity, especially from places such as Tetouan, Badis [Velez], Larache, and Salé. This was, in fact, the main reason that pushed the Spaniards to occupy the Moroccan coasts.[9]

Consequently, the Andalusians coming from Spain (both Moriscos and Hornacheros), and all those who joined them, from the different parts of the Mediterranean, would profit from this site (Salé) and from its exceptional geographical situation to create the 'Bou-Regreg republic.' This type of city-state had far-reaching consequences. It would largely contribute to the decline of the Portuguese empire, perturb the sea traffic of the Spanish fleet, and most of all would carry off all the riches that had been lost after the *reconquista*.[10] The republican freedom and the proto-global atmosphere that reigned in corsair Salé was also made possible by the weakness of the central power in Morocco. By the early 1620s, 'the Makhzan's representatives in Rabat-Salé nominally controlled the corsairs and their activities, but the control was more form than substance.'[11] Even at the level of space, the scope of action of the Salé corsairs was widening inasmuch as it focused on European ships. Their field of activity of was, consequently, more or less drawn by the sea routes to America and along the Atlantic coasts of European countries to the North Sea.[12]

On another side, it goes without saying that the 30 Years War (1618-1648) in Europe was also one of the factors that had favoured Maghrebin corsair activities[13] in a way or another. The Salé corsairs' fleet, in particular, and the North African one, in general, largely profited from this religious and political conflict that was opposing the European powers, especially between the

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[7] Jamal Eddine Borki, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, vol. 2, p. 47.

[8] Gozalbes Busto, pp. 15-19 Quoted from Limami, " 'La Republica Andaluza de Rabat en el Siglo XVII' de Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, Presentación", in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, N° 64, 1997, pp. 354-355.

[9] Ahmed Bouchareb, "Sea Jihad in Salé during the First Half of the 16th Century," (in Arabic) in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé, Juin 1997, pp. 209-210.

[10] Jamal Eddine Borki, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, vol. 2, p. 54.

[11] Jérôme B. Bookin-Weiner, « The Moroccan orsairs of Rabat-Salé » in *Le Maroc et l'Atlantique*. Coordinated and presented by Abdelmajid Kaddouri. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Rabat, Série : Colloques et Séminaires N° 21, 1992, 169.

[12] Salvatore Bono, *Les Corsaires en Méditerranée*. (French translation by Ahmed Somaï.) Paris : Editions Paris-Méditérranée, 1998. Rabat : Editions La Porte, 1998, p. 31.

[13] Daniel Panzac, « *Course et Diplomatie dans les provinces ottomanes du Maghreb (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* » in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé, Juin 1997, vol. 2, p. 103.

Catholic and the Protestant camps. Profiting from this situation, North African corsairs found a real support from two countries in particular, Holland and England, especially in matters of sea equipments and war technology of the time.[14] This was behind many contacts between these two powers and Moroccan corsairs to the extent that Fernand Braudel considered Tétouan, Larache, and Salé among the 'decisive cities' of corsair activity during the 16th century.[15]
It is in this context that these sea cities would take the place of the ancient imperial cities (Fez, Marrakech…), would prosper and be independent from their respective states to become city-states like their European equivalents (Valetta, Livorno, Marseille, Saint-Malo…)[16] European and Turkish corsairs used to come to Moroccan ports like Tétouan, the Maamora, and Salé to sell their captures of Christian captives.[17] As a result, Bou Regreg estuary had become an international center of the different experiences and abilities in sea navigation and corsair activity.[18] This brings back to the proto-global atmosphere, especially in matters of human encounters and ethnic intermixing.

4. The Corsairs' Melting Pot

4.1. Victims of the Reconquista:

The actors or agents involved generally consisted of local Moroccans, Moriscos, Turks, and Europeans, both as renegades or as captives. But most prominent among them all were the Andalusians. A bird's eye view on the parts of the city of Salé at the time can be helpful and highly illuminating on the social distribution and the languages used in a corsair city.
The urban landscape of the Bou-Regreg republic during the first quarter of the 17th century consisted of the following agglomerations: Moors of the right bank (Salé) and Andalusians on the left bank (Ribat), and inside this "Ribat", the Kasaba was inhabited by the Hornacheros, whose main activity was corsairing.[19] At the social level, the Andalusians could be classified into three main groups: the Hornacheros, who were still faithful to their Islamic faith and who were still mastering the Arabic language; the Christianized Moriscos, who had some Spanish and Catholic features intermingled with the feeling of belonging to the Islamic world, but they were totally ignorant of their Arabic language; and the Christianized Mudéjares, who had been assimilated to the Spanish society, who had consequently lost all their original cultural characteristics and values, and who were expelled like all the other Andalusians.[20] Even the other Moriscos who

[14] Hassan Amili, "Ottoman Military Power in the West Bank of the Mediterranean Sea during the 16th and 17th Centuries," (Arabic) in *Les Ottomans et le monde Méditerranéen : Nouvelles approches.* Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des lettres, Série: Coloques et séminaires, N° 109, 2003, p. 108.
[15] Fernand Braudel, *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 194.
[16] Jamal Eddine Borki, *Op. Cit.,* 1997, vol. 2, p. 50.
[17] Abdelhaï Bennis, « Les Captifs chrétiens et les centres d'accueil marocains au XVIIème siècle » in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé les 30, 31 mai, 1èr et 2 Juin 1997, vol. 2, p. 160.
[18] Hassan Amili, "Characteristics of Naval Jihad [Corsairing] in Bou-Regreg Estuary during the 17th Century," (Arabic) in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé, Juin 1997, p. 226.
[19] Abdellatif Limami, *Op. Cit*., 1997, pp. 355-356.
[20] Hassan Amili, "Naval Jihad [Corsair Activity] in Bou-Regreg Estuary, An Andalusian Reaction," (Arabic) in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, N° 64, 1997, p. 16.

came from Palencia were, according to Maria del Carmen Barceló, speaking both Arabic and Spanish until the very end of the 16th century.[21]
This gives us the clear idea that beside Arabic, Spanish language was still occupying a central part in the daily and social life of these people. At the economic level, as we have, among modern globalizers, some moments of General *dis*-Agreement on Trade and Transportation, there were also evidently some moments of discord between the people of Salé, especially on matters of loot distribution or power struggle in the city. But corsair activities were still increasing, and the Andalusians (including the Hornacheros and the other Moriscos) were still having some dominance in the sectors of trade and diplomacy.[22] At the demographic and ethnic level, besides Andalusians and Moroccans, Europeans also represented a considerable social segment in this corsair texture.

4.2. European Corsairs on Moorish Boats:

The Salé rovers were a heterogeneous society of Moroccan and European corsairs. The European corsairs were working side by side with Moroccans and Turks. At times, the Salé corsair ships consisted of corsairs of different ethnicities and different cultures. In one of his letters to the Privy Council, Thomas Ceely submits the statements of two witnesses who attested the presence of a Salé ship that was taking captures on the southern coasts of England. One of them stated that on board of the said pirate ship there 'were nyne Dutchmen, six Turkes and three Moores, and one of them a blacke Moore.'[23] The other witness said that the corsairs on board of the ship were 'fower other Englishe, and five Flemishe runnegadoes, besides thirtie Turkes and Moores.'[24] The same scene is more or less advanced by historians of the Sale Hornacheros. When describing them, Charles Penz stated that their boats are composed in a heterogeneous way: very few true Moroccans, but international pirates, and slaves guarded by some Moriscos.[25]

Many European corsairs even chose to settle for good in Salé. John Smith, who came to Morocco in 1604, describes in his travel account the miserable life of European pirates in the North of Morocco (Sale, Maamora, and Tetouan) in addition to Tunis and Algiers. He gives a list of names of the most prominent ones among them, being mainly English and Dutch. He states that it was these pirates that 'taught the Turks and Moores to become men of war' and that 'all they got, they basely consumed it amongst Jewes, Turks, Moores and whores.'[26]
Nevertheless, the European group that was playing decisive roles in this period of corsair activities was the Dutch who built up relations of friendship with Moroccans both at the official level of kings and at the level of masters of corsair republics on the Moroccan shore. The point that joined the two nations (Morocco and Holland), at the political and diplomatic level, and the two peoples on the high seas, was certainly the conflict with Spain at that particular time of the countries' histories. Mohamed Hajji perceives a strong similarity between Holland, who had

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[21] Al-Houssine Bouzineb, "The Language and Culture of the Moriscos" (in Arabic) in *Le Maroc et la Hollande: Etudes sur l'histoire, la migration, la linguistique et la sémiologie de la culture*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, Rabat, Série Colloques et Séminaires, N° 8, 1988, p. 72.
[22] A. Limami, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 358.
[23] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T 2, p. 560.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 563.
[25] Charles Penz, *Les Captifs français du Maroc au XVII^é siècle. 1577-1699*. Rabat, 1944, p.11. (My translation.)
[26] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T 2, pp. 272-273.

taken its independence from Spain, and a great part of Moroccans who were driven from Spain. This brought Moroccans and the Dutch together around common political and mercantile interests, to the extent that the latter had a permanent consul in Salé.[27] Among the Dutch corsairs of Salé, there were a considerable number of renegades who chose to settle in Morocco. Mourad Raïs (Jan Jansz), for instance, occupied a very important position. He had been captured by corsairs in 1618. In Algiers he converted to Islam, and after his settlement in Salé, he quickly became one of the *qabtans* of the Salétan fleet. He refused to come back to Holland even if one of his daughters visited him in Salé.[28]

4. 3. Renegades and *Uludjs*

When dealing with the 'renegades' phenomenon, the first problem posed is the one of terminology and misnomers. The word 're**nega**de' bears clearly **nega**tive connotations of blame; a renegade, in the Webster dictionary, is also a 'traitor, a turncoat.'[29] This leaves no ground for doubt that the word was used from a European-Christian point of view. On the North African side, most historians would rather use the ambiguous word '*ildj'* علج (plural forms '*Aaladj'* أعلاج and '*Uludj'* علوج) to refer to such persons. While this word refers in Classical Arabic to 'a powerful, well-built non-Arab infidel'[30], in the North African historical context, it rather refers more particularly to those converts who had a certain access to military or official power.

The number of renegades in Morocco was fluctuating due to many reasons. Like any number related to wars (soldiers, victims, loots, etc), the number of these renegades was at the mercy of different historians and chroniclers. While it is very difficult to give the total number, it is possible to make an estimated number during a particular moment in a particular place. Moroccan historian Hassan Amili affirms that, in 1635, there were more than 300 renegades as prominent corsairs in Salé.[31]

Historical records state that nearly all the Moroccan and Algerian campaigns against the Canaries were done under the leaderships of renegades. It even happened that, when Salé became partly independent from the Saadian rule, the Council of Diwan in this republic was headed by the Dutch renegade Mourad Raïs (Jan Jansz).[32]Another example of prominent renegades was Euldj Ali (also Luchali in some Spanish documents), a renegade from Calabria, who was the Pasha of Algiers from 1568 to 1571 and commandant-in-chief of the Turkish fleet from 1571 to 1587.[33]

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[27] Mohamed Hajji, "Moroccan Dutch Relations in the 17th Century," (in Arabic) in *Le Maroc et la Hollande : Etudes sur la migration, la linguistique et la sémiologie de la culture*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, Série : Colloques et Séminaires N° 8, Rabat, 1988, p. 44, 45.

[28] H. L. M. Obdeijn, « Le Maroc et les Pays-Bas. Aperçu historique » in *Le Maroc et la Hollande : Etudes sur la migration, la linguistique et la sémiologie de la culture*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, Série : Colloques et Séminaires N° 8, Rabat, 1988, p. 65.

[29] *Webster's New World Dictionary*. New College Edition, 1993, p. 1203.

[30] Louis Maalouf, *Al-Munijid fi Allugha. Mu'ajam Allugha Al-Arabiyya*. (Arabic Dictionary). Beirut: The Catholic Printing House, 1956, p. 549. It is this term that Iraqi former Defense Minister, Assahhaf, was using when referring to American GIs in Iraq.

[31] Hassan Amili, "Characteristics …," *Op. Cit*., 1997, p. 226.

[32] Abderrahim Choukri, "The Moroccan-Spanish Conflict in the 17th Century" (in Arabic), in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, Nº 64, 1997, p. 71.

[33] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T **1**, p. 154.

Historical archives on the different captures of Moroccan corsairs mention the presence of renegades among them. When the twelve shipwrecked English sailors of the *Tobie* were captured in the region of Cape Spartel (in the North East of Morocco) in 1593, the Moors took them for Spaniards until the coming of the Moorish captain himself with his interpreter, who spoke Italian. One Thomas Henmer of the English company who could speak Italian was speaking on behalf of his fellow sailors.[34] This proves either that there were Italian renegades among the Moors or that the Moors had among them persons who knew European languages to serve as interpreters in such circumstances.

The prominence of the renegades, not only as corsairs but as leaders, *qabtans* and *raïses*, was not only due to their special abilities in matters of war and sea navigation but also to their mastering of European languages as well. Charles Penz states that there was generally among the corsair crew a renegade or a slave as 'a translator capable of winning the trust of the [assaulted] victims.'[35] This linguistic advantage enabled renegades to play a central role in corsair activities, since the enemies were – in this kind of war – exclusively Europeans, and helped them enormously to integrate into the high ranks of the corsair society.

4.4. Captives and Deserters

As a result to the corsair activity and to the Battle of Alcazar (1578), there were a great number of European captives in Morocco. This number was fluctuating according to the cadency of captivity and redeeming efforts of European officials. Many estimating numbers were advanced in this regard. According to Fernand Braudel, after the Battle of Alcazar, 10 000 to 20 000 Portuguese prisoners were kept at the hands of 'infidels'.[36] Fray Luis Nieto estimates that, after this battle, the number of captives, including men, women, servants, Negroes, and slaves, was more than 14 000. On the same subject, in a letter to his brother, a Jewish physician of Moulay Abd el-Malek reports that the captives could not choose, because there wasn't an Arab who hadn't a Christian for a page, or a warrior who hadn't pages for him. And the Moorish workers could not make money because the city of Fez-el-Bali was so full of Christian captives that there wasn't an official who hadn't 2 or 3 Christian captives, and that the city-dwellers had some of them to take care of their gardens.[37] In the case of Salé, Thomas Ceely records, in one of his letters to the Privy Council, the deposition of an English former captive that, among the prisoners of Salé, there were '1500 English, Scottish and Irish men, women and children.'[38]

The captives were certainly leading a very difficult way of life. If some of them managed to have access to better positions in society thanks to their special abilities, most of them were suffering and waiting for redeemers who might or might not come. Many records describe their suffering and give details on their daily life. In their different prisons, the Christian captives were divided in groups, each representing one nation.[39] As for the others who were working for

[34] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T **2**, pp. 77, 80.
[35] Charles Penz, *Op. Cit.*, 1944, p. 11. (My translation.)
[36] Braudel, *Op. Cit*., p. 462.
[37] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T **1**, p. 319.
[38] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T **2**, p. 593.
[39] Magali Morsy, *La Relation de John Braithwaite*. p. 173 and margin 457. Quoted from Abdelhaï Bennis, « Les Captifs chrétiens et les centres d'accueil marocains au XVIIème siècle » in *Le Jihad Maritime dans l'Histoire Arabo-Islamique*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Salé les 30, 31 mai, 1èr et 2 Juin 1997, vol. 2, p. 164.

Moroccans, many of them melted in the Moroccan society. Many European captives of Morocco were Spanish, especially during the 17th century. This fact explains, according to German Mouëtte, the predominance of Spanish language in Morocco; a fact that pushed even this French traveler to learn Spanish in order to communicate with the great number of Spanish captives in the prisons of Fez, Meknes, Salé, and Tétouan.[40] In addition to captives, there was a number of deserting soldiers from Europe who chose to come and settle in Morocco. This was certainly the reason behind one of the articles of a project of a Treaty between Spanish king Felipe II and Moulay Abd el-Malek. The treaty stipulated that 'The Cherif [Moulay Abd el-Malek] won't receive the Spanish deserters.'[41] All these captives and deserters created a European community made up of different European nationalities: Portuguese, French, German, Italian, English, etc. Their presence in Morocco during the 16th and 17th cc. had undeniably social, cultural, and linguistic impacts on the Moroccan society, in general, and the populations of the Moroccan city centers that had received them.[42]

4.5. Turks

Here again, we meet with the problem of terminology. Some European historians and authors do not make a clear distinction between Turks and Moors. The word 'Turk' referred, in their writings and documents, to both Turks (Ottomans) and North African Moors. The term 'Moor' was equally suffering from the same mishandling. The only way to distinguish them and to know who is who is to contextualize the document in question. In this paper, the word 'Turk' refers to a person of Turkish stock (an Ottoman, so to speak).

When a treaty of peace was signed in June 19, 1547, between the Ottoman Sultan, on one side, and the Pope, France and Venetia, on the other side, the Turkish military activities against Europeans stopped, at the official level, and some of the Turkish warriors went to North Africa. This was how about 1000 Turks, most of them ship Raïses, were brought to Morocco by Mohammed Sheikh to serve in the Moroccan army. Many other Turks joined the Moroccan corsairs for religious or financial reasons. The Turkish presence in some parts of Morocco, both as a military force, as members in the Moroccan army, and as fellow corsairs, had left an impact on the Moroccan language and consequently on the Moroccan way of life, thanks to the close connection between words and objects. The Turkish words that integrated Moroccan Arabic (such as *jabador*, *mokraj*, and *tabsil*) are not mere linguistic borrowings but markers of tangible objects that vehicle a certain way of life. Here again, the proliferation of goods and their names is an early aspect of proto-global gestation.

4.6. Foreign Traders

In addition to all kinds of Europeans who crossed the Mediterranean to Morocco, a host of European merchants ventured to the country that was perceived by many of them as the land of sugar and gold. Such merchants were of different nationalities, but the English among them were the most powerful and the best organized ones. They even attempted to found the 'Barbary Company' to secure their mercantile rights in Morocco. But some of them were less experienced, as it is clear in a letter of the English Merchants who were planning to found the Barbary

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[40] Abdelhaï Bennis, "The Spanish Religious Missions to Morocco and Their Role in the Second Half of the 17th Century," (in Aabic) in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, Nº 64, 1997, p. 34.

[41] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T 1, p. 214.

[42] A. Bennis, *Op. Cit*., 1997, pp. 167-168.

Company.[43] The foreign traders were dealing with Moroccans in different languages, but in matters of trade with Moroccan officials or representatives of the king, they were given receipts written in Arabic.

4.7. Christian Missionaries

Morocco received Christian religious missions, mainly Spanish and French, whose aim was to assist the Christian captives, on one the hand, and to negotiate their redemption with their owners, on the other hand. At the beginning of the 17th c., and more precisely since 1630, all the missions of the Franciscan orders, who came to Morocco, for the redemption of captives, were Spanish.[44] These Spanish religious missionaries were not confined to Spanish captives; their efforts rather benefited all the members of European communities of merchants and others, in matters of baptism, marriage and even funeral ceremonies. This shows the prominence of Spanish influence, in general, and reflects the most probable spreading of the Spanish language, in particular. Furthermore, those redeeming Europeans also used Arabic because ‘they were required to master Arabic language,’[45] which proves once again that there was a great deal of communication between Europeans who came to Morocco and the local population, especially in the case of religious missionaries who were also hoping to ‘save some souls’ to the Christian faith.

5. In the Moroccan Court

5.1. Europeans of the Moroccan Court

In the aftermath of the Battle of Alcazar, Moroccan foreign relations knew an unprecedented boom. The Moroccan court was teeming with representatives of European sovereigns and officials. The different diplomatic archives of these European countries partly reflect a boom in the international diplomatic relations and treaties contracted within the Moroccan court of the time. This diversity was both a diplomatic necessity and a result of the corsair activities. The European emissaries were coming to discuss political matters of bilateral concern, to prepare coups or counter-coups, to arrange economic matters, or to negotiate the redemption conditions of their captives. As a result, Morocco witnessed an unprecedented era of international relations. Self-evidently, to make a smooth entry into this era, Moroccan sovereigns were obliged to use Europeans and Moroccans that mastered different languages as emissaries, translators, or consular representatives. In his letter to Queen Elizabeth, Edmund Hogan, who visited King Moulay Abd el-Malek in 1577, found the latter surrounded by his councilors, being as well Moors as Christians. He was most particularly attracted by the use of languages in the Moroccan court. When he delivered her Majesty’s letters and declared his message in Spanish, the king who, according to Hogan, though well understood Spanish, caused one of his ‘Elchies’ (renegades) to translate the message into Arabic, …‘which done, he

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[43] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T 1, p. 93.
[44] *Ibid*., p. 166.
[45] Abdelhaï Bennis, “The Spanish Religious Missions…,” *Op. Cit*., 1997, pp. 38, 41.

answered me in Spanish.'[46] The account also proves that the Moroccan King knew Spanish and was thus using it as a language of diplomatic affairs.

5.2. Translation and Translators at the Moroccan Court

As for official documents in the Moroccan court of the time, Arabic was the official language of all letters and treaties with European rulers and emissaries. Yet there was always a translation of the diplomatic documents to the European language of the concerned country. This was due to the fact that all Moroccan rulers were keeping a 'translation service' within their courts and were even encouraging the writing of treaties on the issue of translation as it was the case of a treaty on the Turkish language, whose writing was ordered by the Moroccan government under the Saadians.[47]

Also, Henry de Castries' *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* abounds in examples and evidence of the presence of professional translators at the Moroccan court of the time. As a case in point, a letter of Mohamed Sheikh to the Dutch mentions a translator of the Moroccan court who was '… mastering your language and writing…'[48] One of Moulay Abd el-Malek's letters was translated from Arabic into Spanish to be given to the English merchants who were discontented by the way the Jews were leading the Sugar trade between Morocco and England. This translation was made by Frai Luis de Sandoval, a Franciscan from Seville, employed as secretary to Moulay Abd el-Malek.[49] Some of Moulay Ahmed El-Mansour's letters were translated from Arabic into Spanish to be sent to Queen Elizabeth of England, as it was the case with the one dated 19 Chaaban 998 (23 June 1590). This was an original Spanish version emanating from the Sherifian Chancellery to accompany the Arabic version. [50] In this case, the Spanish translator was not a renegade. Yet there were many renegades among the translators of Moulay Ahmed el-Mansour. As a case in point, it was Abd el-Rahma el-Catan, a renegade from Catania (Italy), who translated some edicts of this king from Arabic into Spanish.[51]

Another group of people that served the Moroccan court due to their linguistic abilities was the Moriscos. Thanks to their mastering of the Spanish language, they were used by Saadian rulers as translators, secretaries and emissaries to European countries. The same thing can be said about Jews, who were mastering a variety of European languages.[52] The use of Jews in trade affairs with foreigners is a fact that is also mentioned by the English Merchants of the Barbary Company.[53] This was also due to the web of trade and blood relations that they had with their religious fellows all over Europe. Most famous among them is the Pallache family. The Moroccan ambassador to Holland had as an interpreter Samuel Pallache, 'a Jew, who treates

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 243.
[47] Abdelhadi Tazi, *The Diplomatic History of Morocco to the Present Day*. Vol. II (Arabic). Mohammedia: Fedala, 1986, pp. 31, 35, 36.
[48] Henry de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. *Pays Bas*. Tome **5**. Paris, 1923, p. 86.
[49] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T **1**, p. 232.
[50] *SIHM*, **T 2**, pp. 15, 20, 24.
[51] *SIHM*, **T 1**, p. 491.
[52] Ahmed El-Hachmioui, *European Groups Settling in Morocco during the Saadians' Rule*. A DES research in history. Mohalmed Ibn Abd Allah University, Fez, 1414H/1994, p. 510.
[53] *SIHM*, Angleterre, **T 1**, pp. 92-93.

[*sic*] in Spanish.' The latter was also agent of Moulay Zidan in his relations with Nederland from 1609 to 1616.[54]

Translation was also working in another direction. A limited number of books were translated at the time mainly to transfer the latest technologies in military techniques. Moroccan historian Mohamed Hajji gives the list of some books that were translated, during the Saadian rule, from Spanish and Portuguese to Arabic.[55] Under Moulay Zaydan (1613-1618), it was the Irish translator Antoine de Saint Marie who was translating books from Castellan to Latin, and then some Uludjs [renegades] were translating them into Arabic.[56]

It is clear from the subject of these books that translation from European languages to Arabic was mostly resorted to for new European sciences and technologies due to their flourishing in Renaissance Europe. This was certainly an occasion of the passage and 'transfer' of many technical terms from Spanish and Portuguese into the Moroccan military jargon of the time. Within this proto-global atmosphere, it was necessary for Moroccan kings and officials to know or even master some European languages.

6. Renegades and Europeans in the Moroccan Army

Henry Roberts, English agent in Morocco from 1585 and 1588, states in one of his memoirs that the number of Christian renegades in the Moroccan army under Moulay Ahmed El-Mansour was 4000.[57] This number is far from being exaggerated when we know that most of the leaders of the Saadian army that participated in the campaign on Sudan were Uludjs/renegades. Many of them were Portuguese like Caid Amar the Portuguese, Caid Ahmed ben Yussuf the Portuguese, Caid Ali ben Mustapha the Portuguese, and Caid Bahassan Ferrer the Portuguese.[58] These caids, all being Portuguese, were certainly resorting to their own language (Portuguese) for more communication as well in daily matters as in military affairs. This undoubtedly nurtured both Moroccan dialect and the Moroccan military and maritime jargons with a number of Portuguese terms.

7. Microcosmic Babylonia of Languages

In our global world, English has become the *lingua franca* of the whole world. In the proto-global atmosphere of which we have laid bare some aspects, languages were playing a prominent role in all transactions of military, diplomatic, mercantile, or social affairs. In the east of the Mediterranean, especially in interactions between Arabs, Italians, and other Europeans, a *lingua franca*[*] was invented to make communication easier in some highly composite ports of Italy.

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[54] *SIHM*, Angleterre, **T 2**, p. 427.

[55] Mohamed Hajji, *Intellectual Movement in Morocco under the Saadians*, Vol. I (Arabic). Rabat: Dar Al-Maghrib Littalif wa Annashr, 1976, p. 163.

[56] Gaston Deverdun, *Marrakech : Des origines à 1912*. Tome I. Rabat, 1959, p. 424. Quoted from Ahmed El-Hachmioui, *Op. Cit.*, 1994, p. 518.

[57] *SIHM*, Angleterre, T 2, p. 222.

[58] Abderrahim Choukri, "The Moroccan-Spanish Conflict during the 16th and 17th Centuries as Reflected in a Document on Sea Jihad [Corsair], Captives and Uludjs [Renegades]," (in Arabic) in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, Nº 64, 1997, p. 70.

[*] *Lingua franca*, in its historical sense, refers to the hybrid language of Spanish, Portyguese, Arabic, Turkish and French elements spoken in certain Mediterranean ports.

In the republics of corsairs, there was a fluidity of contacts between diverse nationalities with more or less different languages and cultures, but with one interest in common: making money through piracy and corsair activities. In this case, the languages that were spoken in such places as Salé, Maamora, Tetouan, and the other corsair centers were certainly: Arabic, Spanish, English, Dutch, Turkish, Berber (Tamazight), French, and most probably other African dialects. Granted, Arabic was the main language of corsairs and of the Moroccan court. Still, when it comes to addressing foreign citizens from European countries, Spanish was always resorted to. The position of Spanish as the first foreign language in Morocco is a natural result of the particular experience of Andalusians who came to Morocco at the beginning of the 17th century, on the one hand, and the role of Spain as a geographical, cultural, and linguistic bridge between Morocco and the rest of European countries, on the other hand.

It was normal for Andalusians to keep their Spanish language and to use it among them. Guillermo Gozalbes Busto affirms that, among the things that helped enormously the Andalusians of Salé in their corsair activities and facilitated their captures, were their knowledge of the coasts and their mastering of the Spanish language, which had been their own language too.[59] Even in Salé, the main language of the Moriscos' factions, or at least their *lingua franca* – in the modern sense – was Spanish not Arabic. This is further reinforced by Henry de Castries, who states that the Andalusian corsairs of Salé profited from the higher social status that they had had before and from their mastery of Castellan language. This helped them to disguise themselves as Spanish or in the form of merchants by dressing like them, speaking their language, and raising the Spanish flag on their ships.[60] This needs of course more historical research; it nonetheless reflects the great presence of Spanish language in that small but influential society. Even in a minority community like the Jewish one in Morocco at that time, Traditional Spanish, or Old Castellan, was common practice. According to Moroccan authority in this domain, Simon Levy, the Jewish quarter in Fez, the *Mellah*, for instance, knew a period of Arabic-Catalan bilingualism that covered the whole 16th century and a part of the 17th century. Also, among other Jewish communities in Tetouan and Chefchaouen, Old Castellan persisted, and then developed into the Jewish dialect '*hakitia*' during the first half of the 17th century. This dialect extended to Qsar El-Kebir and the ports recovered from European occupation: Asila, Tangier and Larache. As for the Jewish communities of Rabat, Salé and Meknes, they contained a high percentage of Spanish-speaking persons during the same period (17th c.) [61]

This prominence of Spanish language pushed Moroccan historian Abdel-Hadi Tazi to state that it was the first foreign language most used in Morocco followed by Portuguese and English, in addition to the three other languages, Turkish, French and Flemish, which were also used by some Moroccans.[62]

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[59] Gozalbes Busto, p. 64. Quoted from Limami, p. 356.

[60] *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. Première Série : France,* T III, p. 114. Quoted from Hassan Amili, *Op. Cit*., p. 19.

[61] Simon Levy, "Arabofonos e hispanofonos (*beldiyin y 'azmiyin*) en la judería de Fez. Dos siglos después de la expulsión," in *El siglo XVII hispanomarroqui*. Rabat: Publicaciones de la facultad de letras, Serie: Coloquios y seminarios, N° 64, 1997, pp. 333-334.

[62] Abdelhadi Tazi, *Op. Cit.*, 1986, p. 36.

8. Conclusion: Proto-Global Morocco

At the social level, the general impact of this early form of global atmosphere was of microcosmic Babylonias. Foreign (OTHER) populations integrated into the Moroccan commercial and corsair cities thanks to the diversity of their inhabitants (cosmopolitism), their products (captures of different origins), and their local activities (craft industry).[63]

At the linguistic level, the encounters that took place between Moroccans and different kinds of Europeans during the 16th and the 17th centuries, both in times of conflict and in daily life, gave birth to complex social and linguistic interactions between all these ethnicities. This had far-reaching consequences in both directions. In the case of Moroccan Arabic, it was enriched by a large sum of words from European languages, in general, and Spanish language, in particular. Many terms belonging to different disciplines, especially in matters of war, commerce, and technologies of the time, were nationalized and integrated into Moroccan Arabic. The same process took place in the other direction (from Arabic to European languages.)

At a more cross-cultural (or proto-global) level, the most important consequence of the different interactions between Moroccans and the OTHER European nations, with the variety of their national specificities, was that great value of Moroccans' openness to the other. The encounters were mainly governed by dynamics of conflict (political, religious, social or economic). Still, the Moroccan people, at the different levels of society, have certainly acquired, since the catalytic 16th and 17th centuries, the social habit and the cultural ability to meet, to treat and to live with the other, and consequently to accept the other. The richly receptive character of the Moroccan nation and an important part of today's Morocco were certainly made at that period of its history.

[63] Jamal Eddine Borki, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, vol. 2, p. 64.